

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

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P R 260611Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0619
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 13441

GENEVA FOR SALT AND CCD DELS

HELSINKI PASS AMBASSADOR LEONARD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM, UN, FR, UR
SUBJ: FRENCH DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS: YARMOLINSKY
CONSULTATIONS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: ACDA COUNSELOR YARMOLINSKY MET
WITH TAITTINGER APRIL 25 TO REVIEW FRENCH THINKING IN
LIGHT IMPENDING SSOD. TAITTINGER ADHERED TO PREVIOUS
FRENCH POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE A NEW ARMS CONTROL
MECHANISM TO SUCCEED CCD, SUBORDINATE TO UNGA. ON
SATELLITE VERIFICATION AGENCY, TAITTINGER STRESSED
INEVITABILITY THAT OVER TIME US AND USSR WILL HAVE TO
GIVE UP "MONOPOLY." YARMOLINSKY SPELLED OUT DIFFICUL-
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TIES US SEES IN SATELLITE VERIFICATION AGENCY PROPOSAL
AND REITERATED PROBLEMS WE SEE IN FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR
TAX ON ARMAMENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. ARMS CONTROL MACHINERY: TAITTINGER RAISED FRENCH
PROPOSAL FOR CREATION OF NEW ENTITY TO REPLACE CCD
BASED ON THREE PRINCIPLES: CONSENSUS, TERMINATION OF

CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, AND REVISION OF CURRENT CCD MEMBERSHIP. BY LATTER POINT TAITTINGER CONVEYED CONCEPT THAT NEW ENTITY SHOULD NOT BE "CLOSED CLUB," ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED DESIRABILITY OF RETAINING EXPERIENCE AND INTEREST IN PRESENT MEMBERSHIP. TAITTINGER ALSO STATED THAT NEW ENTITY SHOULD HAVE "ORGANIC LINK" TO UNGA. IN REFERENCE TO OPENING MEMBERSHIP TO OTHER COUNTRIES, TAITTINGER SAID THAT ELECTION BY THE UN COULD SERVE THAT PURPOSE. FRANCE IS NOT, HOWEVER, TIED TO SUCH A CONCEPT. IT IS INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATION BY FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL WITH PARTICULAR GOAL OF PRC INVOLVEMENT AND HAS BEEN THINKING OF BASING AT LEAST PART OF NEW MEMBERSHIP FORMULA ON NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL AS THAT WOULD INFUSE NEW BLOOD EVERY TWO YEARS. TAITTINGER CALLED FOR GEOGRAPHICAL BALANCE IN NEW ENTITY AND CRITICIZED BLOCK-TO-BLOCK CHARACTER OF PRESENT CCD MEMBERSHIP. TAITTINGER ADDED THAT GOF COULD ENVISION A NEW ENTITY WITH UP TO 40 OR 45 MEMBERS MAXIMUM.

3. YARMOLINSKY RESPONDED THAT US DOES NOT EXCLUDE CHANGES IN CCD, SO LONG AS THEY DO NOT IMPAIR ITS EFFECTIVENESS AS A NEGOTIATING BODY. WE HAVE NO COMMITMENT TO RETENTION OF CO-CHAIRMANSHIP WHILE RECOGNIZING SOVIET ATTACHMENT TO IT. WE DO NOT RULE OUT CONFIDENTIAL

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CLOSER LINK BETWEEN CCD AND UNGA BUT BELIEVE THAT IT MUST BE A CONSENSUAL LINK, THAT IS, MODIFICATIONS WOULD REQUIRE CONSENT OF BOTH UNGA AND CCD. THE US BELIEVES THAT THE CONSENSUS PROCEDURE WITHIN CCD AND AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE ITS OWN AGENDA MUST BE PRESERVED.

4. IN EXPLAINING CONSENSUAL RELATIONSHIP TO FRENCH, YARMOLINSKY USED ANALOGY OF MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP. DE LA FERRIERE (CHIEF OF DISARMAMENT STAFF) RESPONDED THAT UNDER THE NAPOLEONIC CODE, THE HUSBAND IS THE MASTER.

5. YARMOLINSKY CONTINUED THAT US DOES NOT RULE OUT SOME ENLARGEMENT OF CCD, PROVIDED THERE IS NO DISPLACEMENT OF CURRENT MEMBERS AND THAT EXPANSION DOES NOT HAMPER EFFECTIVENESS OF CCD AS NEGOTIATING BODY. THE US DOES NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT NON-CCD MEMBERS WOULD HAVE ACCESS TO THE FORUM TO PRESENT PROPOSALS. FURTHER ON THE POSSIBLE ENLARGEMENT, YARMOLINSKY AGREED THAT ONE MEANS WOULD BE TO ADMIT PERMANENT AND ROTATING MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

6. US INITIATIVES: TAITTINGER INQUIRED ABOUT POSSIBLE

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US INITIATIVES FOR SSOD. YARMOLINSKY ANSWERED THAT WASHINGTON IS CURRENTLY CONSIDERING INITIATIVES IN THREE AREAS: MEASURES TO DEAL WITH NON-PROLIFERATION, MEASURES TO DEAL WITH TRANSFER OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS, AND MEASURES TO RESPOND TO NON-ALIGNED CONCERNS WITH DISARMAMENT-DEVELOPMENT LINK. SPECIFICALLY, HE REFERRED TO CURRENT STUDY OF CUTOFF AS REPORTED IN PRESS. IN RESPONSE TO TAITTINGER'S INQUIRY ABOUT NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES, YARMOLINSKY REPLIED THAT USG IS LOOKING AT ALL PROPOSALS FROM OTHERS AND SPECIFICALLY AT UK INITIATIVE TABLED AT PREPCOM.

7. SATELLITE VERIFICATION AGENCY: TAITTINGER ASKED ABOUT LATEST US THINKING ON POSSIBILITY OF DIALOGUE WITH US EXPERTS. YARMOLINSKY STATED THAT USG
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HAS SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES WITH THIS PROPOSAL. WE DO NOT ENVISAGE MAKING AVAILABLE STATE OF ART TECHNOLOGY, RAW PRODUCT, OR OUR OWN ASSESSMENTS. OUR OWN SECURITY REQUIREMENTS WILL NOT PERMIT US TO DO SO. WE SEE POTENTIAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN CONCLUSIONS THAT MIGHT BE DRAWN FROM INFORMATION THAT COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE AND THAT WHICH WE WOULD HAVE TO WITHHOLD. EVALUATION AND ASSESSMENT OF RAW MATERIAL INVOLVES POLITICAL JUDGMENTS WHICH COULD ALSO LEAD TO CONFLICTING VIEWS. THE USG BELIEVES THE COST OF AN INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE SYSTEM WOULD BE SEVERE. WE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY FUNDING AN EFFORT THAT MIGHT DUPLICATE OR CONFLICT WITH OUR OWN EFFORTS IN THE FIELD. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT QUESTION THE ACCEPTABILITY OF INTERNATIONAL SURVEILLANCE, PARTICULARLY WITH PRC INVOLVEMENT.

8. TAITTINGER RESPONDED THAT FRANCE BELIEVES THAT OVER TIME THE US-USSR "MONOPOLY" WILL BECOME UNTENABLE. YARMOLINSKY RESPONDED THAT THERE IS NOT A US-SOVIET "MONOPOLY" BUT RATHER "OLIGOPOLISTIC COMPETITION" BETWEEN THE TWO POWERS, AND THAT WHILE INTERNATIONAL SURVEILLANCE MAY BE APPROPRIATE IN THE FUTURE, THE TIME IS PERHAPS NOT RIPE FOR THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY.

9. TAITTINGER ASKED WHETHER US WAS READY TO UNDERTAKE BILATERAL DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT BETWEEN EXPERTS. YARMOLINSKY RESPONDED THAT USG HAD NOT YET RESOLVED THAT QUESTION. YARMOLINSKY ASKED TAITTINGER IF, AT SSOD, GOF WILL PROPOSE SUBSEQUENT EXPERTS DISCUSSION OF SATELLITE VERIFICATION CONCEPT. TAITTINGER CONFIRMED THAT GOF WILL PROPOSE MEETING OF SCIENTIFIC AND LEGAL EXPERTS TO STUDY THE QUESTION.

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10. DISARMAMENT TAX: TAITTINGER ASKED FOR FURTHER US REACTION. YARMOLINSKY SAID THAT WE SEE INTRACTABLE LEGAL AND POLITICAL OBSTACLES TO AUTOMATIC LINK BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT AND DISARMAMENT. NO SAVINGS ARE GUARANTEED FROM POTENTIAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS, AND WE FORESEE A NEGATIVE REACTION IN THE CONGRESS. WE DO NOT CONCEDE THAT THE US IS OVER-ARMED IN THE WORLD AS IT EXISTS. WE ARE WILLING TO EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF A SPECIAL FUND LINKED TO ARMAMENTS RESTRAINT

EXERCISED BY LDCS.

11. MACHINERY CONTINUED: REVERTING TO ARMS CONTROL
MACHINERY TOPIC, YARMOLINSKY ASKED WHETHER, IF AGREEMENT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 13441

WERE REACHED ON SUBSTITUTE FOR CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, ON
ENLARGEMENT OF CCD, AND ON FORMULA FOR CLOSER LINK
WITH UNGA, FRANCE MIGHT BE WILLING TO JOIN CCD AND
MIGHT BE WILLING TO SAY SO AT SSOD. TAITTINGER
RESPONDED THAT GOF SAW SITUATION SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY.
THE WILL OF FRANCE ON THE EVE OF THE SSOD IS TO MAKE
A CONTRIBUTION. FRANCE HOPES TO PARTICIPATE IN A
SUCCESSOR TO CCD, BUT IT CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THERE
MUST BE A SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATION SUBJECT TO MANDATE
OF UNGA. YARMOLINSKY PRESSED TAITTINGER AS TO WHETHER
"LAWYERS FORMULA" COULD NOT BE FOUND TO EXPRESS CLOSER
RELATIONSHIP WITHOUT SUBORDINATION, BUT TAITTINGER
DID NOT YIELD.

12. SEPTTEL ADDRESSES LEONARD-YARMOLINSKY CONSULTATION
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MAY 2.

13. ATTENDING THE MEETING WITH DISARMAMENT COORDINATOR
TAITTINGER WERE DEPUTY POLITICAL DIRECTOR PAGNIEZ;
DISARMAMENT CHIEF DE LA FERRIERE; DEPUTY POLICY
PLANNING DIRECTOR GERGORIN; AND COUNSELOR ON THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY'S STAFF, D'ABOVILLE.
GAMMON

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